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PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

ORGANIZATION

OF THE

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE

AT THE

COOPER INSTITUTE,

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 20TH, 1863.

SPEECHES BY

GEN. COCHRANE, GEN. HAMILTON, HON. ROSCOE CONKLING,
AND SENATOR FOSTER, OF CONN.

New York :

G. S. WESTCOTT & CO., PRINTERS,

79 JOHN STREET.

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CALL OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

WE, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby associate ourselves under the name and title of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

We pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States, to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the National Unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

The primary object of this LEAGUE is, and shall be, to bind together all loyal men, of all trades and professions, in a common union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the nation.

The signers of the above pledge are respectfully invited to meet together on the evening of Friday, March 20, at the COOPER INSTITUTE, to consider plans of organization.

The rolls outstanding should be sent to the office of the EVENING POST before Wednesday night. Tickets will be sent by mail to all who have subscribed their names and residences. Persons desiring to enroll their names can do so by calling at 544 Broadway, adjoining the office of the American Express Company, after 12 o'clock on Tuesday, and from 9 A. M. till 5 P. M. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, when tickets will be furnished to them.



THE NEW YORK LEAGUES.

INTRODUCTORY.

THERE being some little confusion in the public mind as to the purposes and organization of the different Leagues in this city, a slight account of them seems desirable. The constant and concerted efforts of persons of doubtful loyalty to circulate disloyal documents and journals among the soldiers and throughout the country having arrested attention, a meeting of gentlemen was called at the house of Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, on the 14th of February, to consider what should be done to arrest the attempted demoralization of public sentiment. The meeting resulted in the formation of a LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY, under the presidency of Mr. CHARLES KING, which is now doing good service in the loyal cause. Their headquarters are at 863 Broadway. At that meeting there was a strong desire expressed on the part of many gentlemen to organize a League on a broader basis, but the proposition was rejected for two reasons: First, because it was deemed desirable that the PUBLICATION SOCIETY should be confined in its duties; and secondly, because it was stated that a UNION LEAGUE was then being formed under other auspices. The course of the UNION LEAGUE was then watched with interest, and action was delayed, although it had been determined to go to the people with a pledge for signatures in order to obtain a popular constituency as the basis of a great National League, until it was understood that the UNION LEAGUE had abandoned the idea of a broad and democratic organization and was about to form itself into a UNION LEAGUE CLUB, with Mr. ROBERT B. MINTURN as chairman. A pledge was then drawn up and put forward as the pledge of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, and exposed for signature at the various public offices and newspaper counters of the city.

On the evening of the 6th, a public meeting was held at the Cooper Institute, which resolved itself into a LOYAL LEAGUE of Union citizens, but it was not considered that this was in any form a LEAGUE, there having been no bond or pledge signed by any individual.

The desire of the people for a broader and more national organization was clearly shown by the large numbers who besieged the offices for days for a chance to sign the pledge.

When the rolls had been extensively signed, a mass meeting of the signers was called at the Cooper Institute, to whom over five thousand tickets were issued. It is known that as many more names were on record at various points, which had not been surrendered.

A second public meeting of the UNION LEAGUE OF LOYAL CITIZENS was held, at the Academy of Music, in the interim, called by the managers of the first meeting at the Cooper Institute, and a plan of organization submitted, with General SCOTT as president.

This seeming to be merely individual action for the "formation of a society," to use the words of the "originator," Mr. PROSPER M. WETMORE, on the occasion of the meeting at the Cooper Institute, on Friday, March 6, and *in no sense a League*, it was not thought in any way to interfere with the broad national purpose of the signers of the pledge. The following pages give an account of the mass meeting of the signers and their organization on the 20th March, at the Cooper Institute.

It is further known that not only have nearly all the wards in the city adopted the title and pledge of this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, but that hundreds of associations are forming, not only in this but in every loyal state. Ere long it is believed that most of the Leagues will have adopted this simple, comprehensive pledge and title, and have affiliated themselves together as a true and broad LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE.

ORGANIZATION

OF THE

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

IN accordance with the call of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, the signers of the following pledge assembled at the Cooper Institute on the evening of Friday, March 20 :

PLEDGE.

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby associate ourselves under the name and title of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

We pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States, to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

The primary object of this League is, and shall be, to bind together all loyal men, of all trades and professions, in a common union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the nation.

The meeting being a business meeting, to which admission was given only by tickets distributed to the subscribers to the pledge, the gathering was very quiet and orderly in its assembling. But the solid masses of the sturdy loyalty of the city steadily marched in until, before the hour of commencement, the large hall was densely filled.

At eight o'clock an immense ROLL, handsomely mounted with the national colors, and containing over five thousand names (a part only of the headings having been returned, and several hundred of them being still outstanding), was placed upon the desk in front of the audience and greeted with great applause.

A large and distinguished company gathered upon the platform, conspicuous among whom were the orators of the evening, General John Cochrane, General A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, Mr. Roscoe Conkling, and Senator Foster, of Connecticut.

The audience was called to order by Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, with the following remarks :

SPEECH OF MR. CHARLES BUTLER.

MEMBERS OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE—FELLOW-CITIZENS : In introducing the business of the evening, instead of giving you thoughts of my own, I propose to read to you an extract of the closing remarks of that great and masterly speech made by Daniel Webster, on the 16th of February, 1833, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, and upon the resolutions submitted by Mr. Calhoun propounding the doctrines of secession. [Cheers.]

“ Mr. President : If the friends of nullification should be able to propagate their opinions and give them practical effect, they would, in my judgment, prove themselves the most skilful “architects of ruin,” the most effectual extinguishers of high-raised expectation, the greatest blasters of human hopes, that any age has produced. They would stand up to proclaim, in tones which would pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed. They would send forth sounds, at the hearing of which the doctrine of the divine right of kings would feel, even in its grave, a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation. Millions of eyes, of those who now feed their inherent love of liberty on the success of the American example, would turn away from beholding our dismemberment and find no place on earth whereon to rest their gratified sight. Amid the incantations and orgies of nullification, secession, disunion, and revolution, would be celebrated the funeral rites of constitutional and republican liberty.

But, sir, if the government do its duty, if it act with firmness and moderation, these opinions cannot prevail. Be assured, sir, be assured that, among the political sentiments of this people, the love of union is still uppermost. They will stand fast by the Constitution, and by those who defend it. I rely on no temporary expedients, on no political combination ; but I rely on the true American feeling, the genuine patriotism of the people, and the imperative decision of the public voice. Disorder and confusion, indeed, may arise ; scenes of commotion and contest are threatened, and perhaps may come. With my whole heart I pray for the continuance of the domestic peace and quiet of the country. I desire, most ardently, the restoration of

affection and harmony to all its parts. I desire that every citizen of the whole country may look to this government with no other sentiments than those of grateful respect and attachment. But I cannot yield, even to kind feelings, the cause of the Constitution, the true glory of the country, and the great trust which we hold in our hands for succeeding ages. If the Constitution cannot be maintained without meeting these scenes of commotion and contest, however unwelcome, they must come. We cannot—we must not—we dare not omit to do that which, in our judgment, the safety of the Union requires. Not regardless of consequences, *we must yet meet consequences*; seeing the hazards which surround the discharge of public duty, *it must yet be discharged*. For myself, sir, I shun no responsibility justly devolving upon me, here or elsewhere, in attempting to maintain the cause. I am bound to it by indissoluble ties of affection and duty, and I shall cheerfully partake in its fortunes and its fate. *I am ready* to perform my own appropriate part, whenever and wherever the occasion may call on me, and to take my chance among those upon whom blows may fall first and fall thickest. I shall exert every faculty I possess in aiding to prevent the Constitution from being nullified, destroyed, or impaired; and even should I see it fall, I will still, with a voice feeble, perhaps, but earnest as ever issued from human lips, and with fidelity and zeal which nothing shall extinguish, call on the PEOPLE to come to its rescue.”

Mr. BUTLER continued as follows :

While the great statesman, who uttered these prophetic words, sleeps quietly beneath the sod of his own Marshfield, undisturbed by the hellish incantations and orgies of secession, and is happily spared the sight of the attempt to destroy “the constitutional and republican liberty” of his country—it has fallen to the lot of the only son and inheritor of his name to fall under its blows, which consigned him to a premature, though an honorable grave. He, too, sleeps, by the side of his father. Who of us could then have believed that we should so soon be called upon to make a response to this prophetic voice. Our assemblage this evening is an answer to *this voice*. We are the people, and we come in answer to this voice to the rescue of our country. This government is to be saved by *the people*, and not by the politicians. It is the people, and they only, who can save it, and they will save it. The Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union—under the flag of freedom—is their watchword. To give expression and force to this will of the people, organization is necessary—“Loyal National Leagues” are necessary, and we propose this evening to inaugurate one of this character. To preside over your deliberations as chairman, it is fitting to choose a representative man—one who reflects “the true American feeling—the genuine patriotism of the people”—one who, having achieved for himself honorable fame

in civil and political life, when the first blow was struck against the life of "constitutional and republican liberty" sprang to his feet, and offered himself a willing sacrifice in their defence. His voice rallied around him an ardent and patriotic band, and he led them forth to battle. Having fulfilled his duty in the field, he has returned to us disabled by his services, but still desirous to serve his country. He is now present, to animate us with his example. I introduce him now to you in the person of Gen. JOHN COCHRANE. [Continued and long applause.]

The question was then put, and Gen. COCHRANE was elected by one tremendous aye.

Mr. BUTLER nominated Mr. ISAAC H. BAILEY as Secretary. The nomination was approved of.

On motion of WM. E. DODGE, Jr., a Committee was appointed to report a Constitution and By-Laws for the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The CHAIR appointed Messrs. Wm. E. Dodge, Jr., Mudgett, Nelson, Wright, and Mark Hoyt.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., announced that there was a telegram present from Gen. Sigel. The meeting calling for the reading of it, Mr. Stevens read it as follows :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 20, 1863.*

"I cannot be present at the inauguration of the Loyal National League this evening, but I send my best wishes, and request you to enroll my name among its members.

"I believe that the self-preservation of the North and the preservation of republican principles on this continent, have made this war on the part of the United States government necessary, and that there can be no rest until our arms have triumphantly established the rights of man and the majesty of the law over the whole South. [Cheers.]

"All the talent and energy, the wealth and resources of the people should be laid on the altar of the nation ; and if the government will employ all these agencies, and trust in men of energy and character, unfettered by petty jealousies, to break the ranks of the enemy in *field* and at home, this war will be speedily ended.

"We must have the sharp sword as well as the sharp pen—the strong arm as well as the strong and fearless mind, to help us in this terrible struggle. The people must awaken those who sleep, and stir up those who are creeping along instead of marching onward with self-relying boldness.

"I believe in the Monroe doctrine, in the Butler code [great and long-continued applause, and waving of hats], in the President's

Proclamation [great cheering] in the good will and perseverance of the people [loud applause], in the undaunted courage of our volunteers [continued cheering], in the final vindication of the honest, the just, and the brave [great applause]; in the liberation of the down-trodden and the slave, and in the overthrow and death of the Southern oligarchy. [Enthusiatic cheers.]

“Respectfully,
“F. SIGEL,
“Major-General.”

A formal note from Gen. Fremont, acknowledging the receipt of an invitation, was then read amid great applause.

Mr. STEVENS then read a letter from a Committee of a Loyal National League which had been formed in Brooklyn on Wednesday evening, signed by its officers. The letter was received with cheers.

To the Loyal National League of the City of New York :

At a meeting of loyal citizens of the city of Brooklyn, held on the 19th of March, 1863, a Union League was formed, which numbers already over 500 names. The members of this League cordially indorse the pledge under which you have organized, and are fully resolved to stand by the government of our country to the last, in its efforts to suppress the present wanton and wicked rebellion. And they heartily join you in holding that men of all parties and professions should waive, for the time, their points of difference, and should unite in sustaining the only government under which the unity and glory of our country can be preserved.

STEPHEN M. GRISWOLD,	} Committee.
A. B. HANU,	
G. H. ROBERTS,	

SPEECH OF GENERAL JOHN COCHRANE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE: I have but few words to address to you to-night. I did not come here with the purpose of making a speech nor of expatiating at length upon the great objects which fill your hearts and occupy your minds; for with another who has been immortalized by the dramatic muse, I say,

“Rude am I in my speech,
And little blessed with the set phrase of peace.
* * * * *
And little of this great world can I speak,
More than pertains to feats of broil and battle.”

But wherever throughout this whole land, I look upon my assembled fellow-citizens, the great civic army of peace, my thoughts revert with constancy to that faithful band that in front of yonder enemy submits to every inclemency, yields to no defeat, but in every event under every circumstance, with bosom armed in the panoply of patriotism, offers itself a sacrifice to the safety and UNITY of the country. [Applause.] I speak to you of the soldier in arms. [Renewed applause.] I speak to you of his stern endurance, of his anxious solicitude, of his efforts, of his perils, and of his death, for the comforts which you enjoy. I speak to you of men who have here banded themselves frequently in array against each other—partisans of different political principles and creeds—and yet who, united shoulder to shoulder, under one flag and with flashing bayonets know no division, no party rallying cry but the great cry of their country, “Save, or we are lost.” [Applause.] Nay, nay, when the battle has been waged, and their ranks set in array, no question has been made by soldier of his comrade, “What were you in your civil lists?” but with the sternness of war and with the determination for victory, democrat and republican, abolitionist, emancipationist, *all* Americans have advanced under the one slogan—“The victory shall be ours and the rebellion shall be crushed.” [Great applause.] And if more were necessary to teach to us the folly, the wickedness of division when our country is in extremity—if anything in addition should be required here to-night to explain why all should be sacrificed of personal and political division and contest upon the common altar of our suffering country, I would invoke the presiding spirit of that great man departed from among us, but whose words have reached us here to-night upon the breeze, the spirit of the great Webster, seated where party prevails no longer, teaching Americans that as Americans only can they maintain the American government in its integrity. [Cheers.] The voices of the dead proclaim the great truth to the living. They who preceded us, the fathers as well as the commentators upon their works, announce that there can be no successful action save in unity, save in the accord of sentiment and unanimity of mind. It must be now as it ever has been, that a great people, striking for the great truths which control government and influence the destinies of a race, must advance in the cause which they have adopted with a united front. [Applause.]

Then, members of this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, I speak to you to-night, not as members of political parties, not as those in whose minds even the reminiscence of political divisions is present, but as those forgetting or ignoring the long and dreary past that we may at length reach a bright, a brilliant future; I speak to you that with united mind and honest heart, nerved with vigorous strength, you lay down at your feet and trample in the dust those who encourage political divisions as demagogues and traitors [applause], and that with one common effort we may declare that this people is and shall be a united, independent, and integral people. [Renewed applause.]

Much has been said heretofore by our friends respecting the conduct of the people in this great contest, as presenting great encouragement to ourselves that there is a great reaction throughout this land. A reaction? A reaction toward what and from what? From the causes and principles of rebellion to the principles and virtues of a common loyalty, a reaction from demolition and revolt to loyalism and integrity. Far from it. My friends, there has been no reaction. The reaction is in the mind of the lukewarm, of the doubting. The great heart of the people, from the earliest initiation, from the first original moment of this rebellion, has been right. [Applause.] Never, never was it wrong. The people have understood this far better than the politicians and the statesmen, for the people have thought with their hearts, while politicians have speculated and combined with their minds [cheers], and from the first moment of this controversy, my word for it, had the true measure been adopted, that of suppressing the rebellion, and securing to us the victory, the people would have risen *en masse*, the country over, to maintain it. [Applause.] What! Educate the people to resistance to rebellion! Nay; it has been the people who have educated the administration to resistance. [Applause.] There has been no reaction. A singular combination of circumstances induced a certain set of lukewarm, doubtful gentlemen, to suppose that the quietude of the people meant doubt in regard to the issues and the character of this controversy; but, as they glided from their holes the honesty of the people who had been surprised placed its heel upon the head and the snake was destroyed. [Applause.] The people stand where they ever stood, firm, true, and honest, by their country, and their whole country.

A war precipitated upon us by a rebellion significant of what? Significant of a revolt of simply a state? A civil war to redress an asserted or proclaimed grievance? Nay, nay; but a determination on the part of a whole section and region of country to shake off the yoke of a government, to proclaim independence to itself, to disturb the course of law, to avert the current of commerce, to set at naught the institutions of America, to deny her laws and all allegiance to the great principles of free and independent government. It is something more than rebellion; it is something more than civil war. It is a contest precipitated by rebels and in which we are engaged for the great rights of humanity and of mankind. [Applause.] From its very nature it knows no compromise. [Applause.] From its very course it cannot be settled. There is no way out except the way through. [Loud applause.] There is no argument but the bayonet; there is no voice that will convey reason to those in arms against us but the explosion of the ordnance in the field. [Applause.] When our armies have reached yonder gulf; when our soldiers shall reside at home in the palaces of the Palmetto rebels, when Yankee Doodle shall be the note proclaimed throughout the savannahs of the South [renewed applause], and the down-trodden wooden nut-

meg peddling Jonathan shall be the lord of Southern manors [renewed cheers]—then, and not till then, will the war be ended. [Loud cheers; “John, you’re right!”]

Compromise! compromise what, and with whom? Do you not know that when the majority of the misled people of the South were Union men and were anxious that this government should be preserved, their political leaders were able in the face of the efforts of conservative men, as they proclaimed themselves, and honestly then, too, to carry those states out of this Union, without armies, without experiment, in doubt, in gloom; those men, heedless of the ruin they would cause, carried that country in the face of this government to arms; and do you suppose that they, having now no divided body in their rear, carrying with them a united South, and having an experience of over eighteen months of, if not successful, at least equal war, will now consent to compromise and accept the terms they imperiously rejected at first? No! no! it is not that only, it is that they scorn, condemn, and despise the peddling Yankee; they hate and spit upon the flag, which they sneeringly term a rag, and exclaim, that should separation perchance ensue, they would hold intercourse with us, but they would do so holding their noses the while. [Laughter.]

Is there a man here who will accept the issue from these men at the South that they will not live with us? [“No!” “No!”] No, the issue is whether we will live with them [applause], and that issue is now in process of determination. It is being determined and adjusted by yonder armies in the field. It is being determined by these armies at the North. Give me but a united people, a devoted people, knowing their rights, and determined to maintain them, and I will venture their cause against every earthly power that time can place against it. [Loud applause.]

It may be sooner, it may be later, but the determination is fixed and unalterable, either now or hereafter, that the time will come when this government shall be reunited, and that the stars and stripes shall once more float over a great, united and happy people. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, members of this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, I well recollect the time when to utter the sentiment that a people at war with its enemies should use every means of victory over its enemies, was pronounced to be Abolitionism—Emancipation—and when no person could speak even in bated breath of the propriety of employing those means, forsooth, without being met with the stigma of political disgrace, and being impressed into the ranks of a despised class of fanatics. Why there was a time when you dared not even proclaim to the country, so peculiarly sensitive were the nerves of our politicians, that a black mule should be used against the enemy, much less a black man. [Laughter and applause.] But now the country is opening its eyes to the facts, announces what it always believed, what the masses always adjudged and knew to be true, that if we are to secure victory, the policy of victory must be adopted; [loud applause;] if we would destroy our

enemies, we should adopt every means of weakening his and augmenting our strength. [Applause.]

Well, how stands the case. Let me give you a few figures, they will not detain you long, they are as interesting as troops on this occasion, they are from our census of 1860, prepared by a skilful hand; I give you the results: There are in the Northern States, or the Loyal States of the Union, by the last census 4,000,000 of whites between the ages of 18 and 45. There are in the disloyal regions of the South 1,300,000 whites between the ages of 18 and 45. Thus you perceive we are a little more than three to one. Could we conquer, could we subjugate them even with that proportion of men in our favor? It may be that we could, but it would be extremely doubtful. You have yet in their own fastnesses a multitude of allies, and those allies are the blacks. Those blacks, slaves within those disloyal States, number 3,500,000, of which some 2,000,000 are plantation laborers, mechanics and artisans, and there are some 300,000 of those 2,000,000 that are domestic slaves, leaving 1,700,000 who are employed to subsist the 1,300,000 white armed warriors. These blacks, men and women, are actively engaged every moment of the day in procuring the means of subsistence, for energizing the armies of the South. Thus there are in the aggregate three millions of people, white and black, at the South against four millions at the North. Could we conquer them by any such proportion? No; there is no instance in history—there is no ground for belief in any rational mind, that with such proportions between the North and the South, victory would perch upon our banners in such a struggle. What then? We must resort to the only means to be employed in such a cause, and those means, I am happy to say, are at length determined upon and being adopted. In such a position, and upon such a statement—and upon that statement it is that we elucidate the cogency of the position—we are brought to the conviction that the duty of the armies of the United States at the present moment is to declare that the war must be brought speedily to a successful conclusion. Say that we have 4,000,000 of whites at the North, add to them 1,700,000 blacks at the South and you have 5,700,000 engaged in this war for the Union, and a very large proportion of this number engaged in the enemy's country,—familiar with its fastnesses—men who of all others would be most valuable to us as adjuncts, most useful as auxiliaries. Add the blacks to our side and you reduce the force of the South to 1,300,000. Then we would stand relatively the North to the South as $5\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ or as 9 to 2. In that proportion success lies with us. [Applause.]

It is only when you have invoked the aid of that portion of the Southern strength which is disaffected towards the rebellion, and which is able and willing to war for free institutions, that you can deal the rebellion a fatal blow and achieve success in favor of free institutions. [Cheers.] There was a time when even this statement was received with doubt. But that time has passed.

Our armies accept the truth, our citizens receive its strength; and united on that point, there will be a cogency in their united application, and a vigorous action in their onward stride, which will teach mankind, and the world on the other side of the Atlantic, that the American people have determined to finish and conclude the war which rebellion has thrust upon them. [Applause.] I have occupied your attention longer than I intended, and I propose now to give way to speakers who have been invited to address you this evening. They will engage your attention and will speak of affairs at length. There are those from other quarters, the far Southern tropics, who will speak to you of affairs peculiar to their own firesides, and they will address you also upon your own position, and I am sure from what you will learn and hear this evening, that you, as members of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, will be prepared from this time through its organization to teach the world that the American people are in earnest. [Loud applause.]

[MUSIC.]

THE PRESIDENT: I have to announce to the meeting that I hold in my hand a roll that has just been presented, containing the names of 1,700 policemen, who have joined the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE. [Long and loud applause.] I think, fellow-members, we may say, after this, that order reigns in Warsaw! [Applause.]

An old gentleman in the audience:

Is there any difference between this League and the one organized at the Academy of Music?

THE PRESIDENT: If there is a difference, it is not understood by the Chair.

THE OLD GENTLEMAN: I think there is a misunderstanding.

THE PRESIDENT: There may be a misunderstanding, but there is no difference; and these misunderstandings, when we are all united in one common purpose, are but additional incentives to energetic action. [Applause.]

Mr. WILLIAM E. DODGE, Jr., chairman of the committee to report By-Laws, submitted a series of By-Laws, and a resolution on ward organization.

(For By-Laws and Resolution, see the Appendix.)

THE OLD GENTLEMAN: I wish to make a slight alteration. The nomination of a "central committee, to be approved by this society."

THE PRESIDENT stated that such a committee was contemplated.

The question was then put, and the By-Laws and Resolution were carried by acclamation. [Great applause.]

Gentlemen, I have now not only the honor, but the great pleasure, to present to you a gentleman you have often heard; a gentleman whom I have often seen, and taken by the hand. I have stood by him in many a stern struggle in the House of Representatives. He was always a true, tried, steadfast, Southern Democrat. He stands before you to-night almost an isolated man. He has parted from his family; the last, and almost the only news he has had from them being that, as those troops who were surrendered at the South, through the treason of General Twiggs, were on their return to the North by exchange, passed by his family mansion, his little ones ran out, and, notwithstanding the disloyal sentiments of the vicinity, they, with the spirit of their sire, gave three cheers for the Union. [Great applause. "Good."] The virtues which they inherited, and thus expressed, are still radiant in the heart of that father, and he is here as a father, to speak to you as fathers to-night, upon the great cause of the Union. I introduce to you General HAMILTON, of Texas. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

SPEECH OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. J. HAMILTON, OF TEXAS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE: Had I been disposed to deal justly by myself, I surely would not have been present on this occasion. It is not often I have been under the necessity of making apologies in advance of the humble efforts I have from time to time made in this great cause; but recent indisposition of a severe character, admonishes me that I am not able this evening to meet your just expectations; nevertheless, in obedience to the wishes of friends, I am here to bear testimony still to what I deem the principles upon which this government ought to prosecute this war to successful conclusion. And I cannot better do that than by endorsing every word my friend—as I may be permitted so to call him—and your President, has so eloquently uttered in your hearing this evening. [Applause.] If I make any change at all, it would not be by detracting from any suggestion he has made, or from any of the principles he has urged in your hearing; but it would be, had I the capacity, by adding immeasurably to the suggestions he has made, if by so doing I could infuse vigor into the public arm. The purpose, I presume, of this great assemblage, is to ratify and endorse the object of this League. I suppose this is a part of the record of that League which I see before me [pointing to the ROLL on the speaker's desk, handsomely mounted with the national colors]. I know not how many names it may contain; but, judging from the size of the ROLL, it contains names enough, if mustered into an army, to redeem my State [Applause]; and if the men who signed it have hearts as ready and willing as their hands, they would redeem it if arms were placed in their hands. [Renewed applause.] I understand the

object of the signers of this pledge of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, to be to declare the unalterable determination of every one who there puts his name to stand by the government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. [Cheers.] What are those efforts to be? To levy armies, as a matter of course, to furnish the means to arm and equip the soldiers raised, to put them in the field and to sustain them while there. Unquestionably all will agree to this. I mean every loyal man; for, unfortunately, every man in this part of the country, I understand, will not go that far. Some people this way think that the best way to put down and suppress a rebellion is to cease fighting rebels. [Cries of "Brooks."] It is further, I imagine, the purpose of those who join this League to sustain the Congress of the United States in the measures that have been adopted in its wisdom to give power to the Executive and to the officers of his army. [Loud cheers.] I understand it is the determination of all who sign this pledge and thereby become members of the League, no longer to carp about this being a war against the institution of slavery [great applause], or to urge the government to withdraw from the country a part of what ought to be its just support in putting down this rebellion.

It is strange to my mind, and has ever been strange, when considering it, how any man in the land who really is capable of reading the current events of the day, and who is willing to admit, what the truthful pen of history will record, in what way and for what purpose the rebellion sprang up in our midst, how any man can find it in his heart to withdraw, even temporarily, his support from the government because it has at last determined to strike down the thing which has attacked the integrity of the government [loud cheers], and to talk about the monstrosity of this administration and the government making war upon slavery. [Great applause.] What was it, pray tell me, you that carp, what was it that made war upon the government? [Cheers. "That's it." "That's the question."] What institution, or pretended interest growing out of any institution, was made the pretext and the real cause of this war? I say the pretext, because I say what I have often said, it was not because of any oppression on the part of the people of the non-slaveholding States upon the interests of slave owners of the South, that the rebellion was had; but slavery was nevertheless the cause. It was the cause in more senses than one. It was the cause, first, because its tendency had been to make the owners of that property arrogant. It made them desire to be the lords of this country. ["That is so."] It made them determined, in their bigotry of heart, that they would rule the country ["They shall not"], or else they would ruin it and build up another government. ["They cannot."] It was for this cause, secondly, that they induced many innocent and ignorant people in the South to believe that the South had been greatly wronged because of her interest in this institution, and that you intended to destroy it; and many were thus led to participate, not

knowing the real design of the conspirators, not knowing that it had been smouldering in the hearts of the leaders of this rebellion for the last thirty years, who for that long period had been watching the favorable moment, adding to their strength, diffusing the programme, and in the language of Mr. YANCEY, one of its great apostles, "firing the Southern heart," all the time on a mere pretext, and waiting a favorable moment to precipitate the cotton States into rebellion. I say with all my heart, with all my soul and mind, that I do not even regret the necessity of crushing slavery in putting down this rebellion. [Great applause.] I did not wait for the President's Proclamation to take my position. I said the very moment the viciousness, the wickedness, the unheard-of monstrosity of men, in the face of society and under the blessings of such a government as this, brought them to lift their hands in rebellion against it, and put forward slavery as the pretext or the cause—that moment my mind was unalterably fixed against the institution forever. [Loud cheers.] Suppose you could re-establish the Union by putting down rebellion and preserving slavery. Do you believe you could make slaveholders love you more than they love you now? ["No, never!"] Do you believe you can make them less confident of preserving the institution in all future time than they were before the rebellion, after they have seen that you have not the moral and physical power to crush the cause, together with the rebellion? And, if you could believe both these things, I might ask if you believe it within the range of possibility that the loyal men of the South, who have suffered so much from this rebellion, can ever live at peace with these devils who have undertaken to ruin them and you? [Loud applause. "No, no."] If not, then do you love rebels and traitors more than you do loyal men? ["No, no."] Preserve the one and destroy the other, take your choice! [Loud cheers.] I must not and will not refer to myself, but I will refer to neighbors and friends, those who are yet living (for many have died), who are in Mexico or in the mountains and fastnesses of western Texas, hiding like wolves in the caves of the country, or scattered exiles through the loyal land. How are they to return and live in the bosom of these slave-owners, restored to their constitutional rights if they have any left. How will they endure those institutions in favor of which, and in deference to which, all the people of the South have been compelled to bow down as worshippers for the last ten years? I assert in your presence to-night, what every man of respectable reputation knows who has ever placed his foot on Southern soil, that long before this rebellion commenced slavery had undermined free government in the South. ["That's so."] I say in your presence that for what George Washington left upon record when he died, for what Jefferson wrote and labored to achieve, for what any one of the great fathers of our government believed, for what my father spoke and all of his neighbors spoke thirty years ago, that same Washington any time within the last ten years, for uttering in the South, would have

been hanged as high as Haman. ["That's so."] I speak what I do know when I tell you that more than two hundred and fifty according to their own record, of your free people who had gone down to populate our state were hanged in 1860, pending the presidential election, because they were *suspected* of not being more loyal to slavery than they were to their government, and four thousand others, men, women, and children, were driven out. Are you to be told for the first time here to-night that your fair females, educated at your schools to teach our daughters have been driven out after suffering every sort of ill treatment too gross to be mentioned in this presence, and expelled from the country, and your male friends hung by hundreds in the South; yet men will talk about preserving the institution of slavery from which these things sprung, even after it has dared to lay its hands upon the altar erected by Washington and his companions, and has attempted to tear down the temple of liberty itself. [Loud cheers.] I say that, in my judgment, it is one of the mercies of God's providence, if this rebellion was to take place, that its result (perhaps it was the only means by which this result might be reached, and therefore, it was a moral necessity) must be the total extinction of the accursed institution. [Applause.] You may say, and I have heard it said, "This man speaks through his resentment; he has grown to be an Abolitionist!" It is true, fellow-citizens. [Loud applause.] I sprang at once living to my feet, an Abolitionist, the very moment this rebellion began. [Immense applause. "Good! good!"] I hate the institution. [Renewed applause.] You may ask why do I hate slavery and love my government? Because I never received aught but blessings from that government. I never received ill-treatment from it. I have been the recipient of its blessings since I was a child. Have I ever received protection from slavery? What has it done for me? Because I would not assist in robbing you of a good government it has robbed me of a home, and my wife and children are captives to rebellion! Ought I to love it? ["No, no."] Or to talk for it? ["No, no."] Or to feel for it? ["No, no."] Or ought I not rather to consecrate the remainder of my life to waging uncompromising war against it? [Great applause. "Yes, yes."]

And what, fellow-citizens, after all, are you to gain by restoring the government with that institution? If you restore that institution which is the cause of the rebellion, which is part and parcel of it, and from which you can never separate it; you must restore those who are interested in it to the great bosom of the national family. I have heard it said recently that in high places it has been suggested that it would be a pleasant sight to see Jeff. Davis and his compeers return to the United States Senate. ["Never." "Never." "Hang him."] I do not know how far I may go without wronging my own heart or this great cause, but I could almost find it in my heart to say that, if those are the terms upon which restoration of the government and salvation to

the country are to be had, then let all perish in one common ruin! [Loud applause.] A nation can never restore to its councils such men without sinking its honor forever. What! will you restore the men whose arms are red to their shoulders with the blood of your children, your neighbors, your friends, who would consign you all this night to degradation, misery, and want; who would exterminate the last man, woman, and child, in the loyal states in order to succeed in this hellish rebellion? The men whose congress passes a resolution every sixth day declaring that they will never live in political fellowship with you, who scorn and despise you, and declare they will accept no terms except unconditional recognition of their independence, not only of all the states in rebellion, but that they will have also Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, and all of Virginia. [“Never.” “Never.”] Now they have told you this, yet men talk about inviting these men back to the Senate of the United States. [“Never.” “Hang them first.”] They have no constitutional rights, they have no legal rights, but from their conduct those rights may somewhat have changed. They had once the right to be in the Senate Chamber, and to protection of their property by this government; but, by their rebellion and resistance to the constituted authorities of the government, they have forfeited all such rights as these, and they now have the right—if they can be caught, tried, and convicted, as they ought to be, and no doubt will be—to be executed for their offence. [Loud cheers.] But it is, forsooth, a terrible thing to talk about, first of taking away all their negroes, then of employing their negroes against them. Well, it does seem to me, fellow-citizens, that if an assassin were to make an attack on me, not suspecting any foul intention on his part, and he had a dagger at my throat and I in the struggle could get possession of it, I would not exactly restore it to him [laughter and loud cheers], and I would not be particular about how I used it upon him. [Renewed laughter and cheers.]

This government, as you know, was attacked, and is working to crush out this rebellion, and is it not a shame that men at this day will talk about the wickedness of this government making war upon the South! Now some men, of exceedingly small head [“Copperheads”] and smaller heart, may receive plaudits for uttering such a falsehood; but they must know, if they will take a second thought, that all history will record it to be a foul lie and slander. [Applause. “Good.” “Good.”] This government never invited war on the part of the South, but it waited until your national capital, within ten hours of your great city, was seriously threatened, and was well nigh being lost. I will say to your honorable president here to-night, that when I parted from him and Washington, a day or two after the inauguration of the President of the United States, I passed through no hamlet, village, town, or city, at the South, that did not already swarm with soldiers mustering and preparing for an attack on the government. And do you remember that the first Secretary of

War in Mr. Davis's regime, Mr. Pope Walker, declared in a speech in Montgomery, Ala., long before the first shot was fired, that within a given time they would have the national capital. It was an open boast at the South, and they really believed it. They believed they had so managed, through the agencies they had been able to employ in high places, that they had secured the power and they intended to use it. I will not mention names, because that would be rude, on this occasion, and I know none of your minds will revert to Governor Floyd, of Virginia, or anybody like him. [Loud laughter and cheers.] But it was so. And yet men here talk about their constitutional rights, and that they have property in the South, about which property, you having disputed it, they intend to tear down the government and make another, this same species of property being the corner-stone of the new government. But when you, for the preservation of your government, resist the aggressive war made upon you, when you attempt to put down the rebellion and to preserve your government, you are doing a most cruel, unjust and unconstitutional thing. I suppose these gentlemen imagine that the object in framing the Constitution was to see how long a government could exist without having power to protect itself against enemies without or within. [Laughter.] A common, flippant remark of the rebels was that the government was a failure, because it was not possessed of inherent strength. But I have said to them on many occasions, as I say to you to-night, that in my judgment they will find, before they get through with it, that this government is strong enough for common use. [Applause.] It has just the same omnipotent power that any other government under heaven has to protect itself from its enemies without and within. It was intended to have that power. The Constitution conferred upon the President, and made it his sworn duty, to suppress insurrection and to repel invasion; and it placed him at the head of its army and its navy that he might employ the whole force of the country, if necessary, to accomplish that great object. Nobody ever dreamed, until those teachings through which secession grew to be popular, that it had not power to accomplish everything it desired for these great ends. But it has been discovered that the government, surrounded as it has been by enemies, molested by the sympathy abroad for the treason at home, from day to day surrounded with difficulties new and hitherto untried by the government, may make now and then a mistake. It may have made the mistake of arresting some men who had not said as much as they ought to have said to convince their neighbors of their loyalty—for I do believe every man ought so to speak out, that if not at heart a traitor he shall not be suspected [applause]—such men may have been pounced upon by the government and put in durance vile for a few days, until the government thought it had strength enough to allow such reptiles to go at large. And then the whole brood of small fry politicians have raised the cry, "Why this is the most tyrannical govern-

ment under heaven." With a million traitors in arms against it, and a third as many more at home going about claiming that it is an unholy war! Now and then the government arrests a reptile, not for the purpose of executing, but of confining him, and the cry is raised that it is a tyranny too great to be borne, and the people are called upon to resist it. Why, gentlemen, the very fact that you hear men going about in such a condition of things as now exists, proclaiming such sentiments, is the best evidence under heaven that they lie. [Applause.] If this had really been a tyranny; a thousand such heads would have rolled from the block before now. There is no other government beneath the heavens that would tolerate such treason, for that is the name by which to call such disloyalty. It may not be treason in the first grades, to be punished capitally as treason, but it is quasi-treason. It is time that men should cease talking in that way. Every man knows it is a lie. The government may make a thousand mistakes, but it is not despotic. A few weeks ago the Secretary of War said to me in reply to some remarks about such language, "That is nothing new; it happens in this city every day." The reply I made was, "If that be true, all I have to say is that somebody, I don't know who it is, does not do his duty." [Applause.] If even in the national capital, and in the very halls of the national Congress, such sentiments of qualified treason can be uttered, and if the officers of the government, knowing it, allow such men to go at large day by day, I say it is a proof that it is not a despotic government, but the contrary. This government has borne more from its pretended friends than it has had to contend with from open enemies.

The time is coming, and I am heartily glad to see this great people waking up to the determination, when, whatever our thoughts or sentiments may have been with regard to the policy of the country, we will come together and act together for its preservation. It is due to you to do this. The truth is that you must repose on yourselves. You have been truthfully told to-night that it is not a returning sense of fidelity to the government, but a returning sense of your duty under the fidelity you have always felt. It may have been latent in the bottom of your hearts, but every man who belongs to this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE has always regarded himself as a loyal man, and has always loved his government. He may for a time have been lukewarm in the cause; he may not have felt that he could have given them the active and cordial support that was due from every citizen; but now, having maturely considered, he has at last arrived at the conviction that there is but one path of safety, but one path of duty, and that is to lend his whole heart to the cause of the government, to sustain it in all its constitutional relations, and bring together a mass of public sentiment which will sweep away every man that opposes it. [Applause.] And even if there be men in high places who, for their own selfish promotion, have been engaged in wily diplomacy to defeat for a time the success of one man in the

public service, engaged faithfully in one quarter of the country, and if there be those with similar purpose checkmating another man in the performance of his duty, let them learn a lesson from the history of the past. Let them remember that the people of this great country, "thinking with their heart," will instinctively know the men who do their duty and will reward them too. We know that a few years ago, when we were engaged in a foreign war, there was an old general, who never pretended to be anything more than a rough and faithful soldier, winning victory after victory, paying no attention to what was going on at the National Capitol, while others were intriguing, seeking in their life in camp to secure the great honors which this great people could confer; and we know that the people took up that old rough soldier, who had never dreamed of being President, and made him President over all of them. [Cheers. "Taylor."] It may again occur that some men who think that they are winning the popular favor may be set aside, while those who have performed duties in distant points in the South, who may have been relieved because the contrast was becoming too great between them and others, may live long enough to realize that the people of this country, when aroused, are omnipotent, and to acknowledge that

"The best-laid schemes of mice and men
Gang aft aglee."

[Cheers for Butler.]

If we are to do our duty to our government, let us begin by determining to do our whole duty. At the risk of being impertinent or officious this evening, I must say that I think the time has come not only for arousing each and all of us to the protection of the government of the United States in the prosecution of this war to a successful issue, but also to defend the honor and dignity of this great people, by directing their attention to the position of this government, and telling our public servants that we are not afraid of foreign powers. [Applause.] We bow not even at the footstool of the great Nephew of his Uncle. [Renewed applause.] I have never myself had any fears. I believed that if it came to the point that the rebels in arms were to have sympathy from abroad, from the ruling class in England, or from the Emperor of the French, we could at once challenge the great heart of both nations which knows well what this war means [great applause]; for, while we know that the rebellion has received great encouragement, and even material aid, from one class of the citizens of England, there is another class who, even amid all their sufferings and deprivations consequent upon this war, have been true and loyal in their hearts to the government of the United States, and when they see that this great people, in the midst of its trials, when they see that you who have sent to the Army of the Union men enough to have conquered Europe a few years ago, still remember to build ships and

freight them with bread, and send them across the briny deep for their relief, you will hear—nay, you hear to-day the response which comes back to you by every vessel that reaches our shores—that the whole heart of the English people is loyal to the principles of liberty. [Cheers.] The great heart of Europe is with us; and we can afford to say to their rulers—Do your worst. [Applause.]

I do not hold others responsible for my humble views, but, for one, I would not withhold, upon the part of this government, the expression of sympathy and the extension of aid, if need be, to our struggling neighbor who is about to become the victim of the wily despot of France. [Applause.] A leading man of that country remarked to me last summer that the republicans of Mexico and the republicans of the United States must stand shoulder to shoulder in the cause of civil liberty; that slavery had been the nightmare of our government, and before it ended we should find the lovers of civil liberty throughout the world on one side, and the lovers of despotism arrayed in sympathy with the rebels against the government on the other. For one, I wish to hear this government declare that our sympathies are with Mexico, and we do not wish to see it overrun by Louis Napoleon. [Applause.] How long is it since he dared to conceive the project of crossing the Atlantic to meddle in the affairs of any government upon the continent of America? Would he have attempted it three years ago? [“No!”] Would he have talked about it five years ago? It would have been worth his throne to have done it. But now we are in a position which enables him, in his judgment, to take advantage of us; we are struggling in a desperate war, and will not be able to give aid to Mexico; we are not able to dictate to the world as to the sacredness of the institutions on this side of the water against their interference. Instead of planting ourselves on the Monroe doctrine, in the midst of our troubles, we can be snubbed by Louis Napoleon proposing to have commissioners from the Southern Confederacy meet our commissioners on neutral ground to rearrange the American Senate, I suppose. [Hisses.] Had I been the premier of this great government, if it had cost me my life, I would have replied: “Sir, there was a time when you would not have dared to say so much; and now that you have said it, I will take the occasion to say to you, in the name of the government, that you had better take counsel of those who surround you as to the quickest and safest way of getting out of Mexico.” [Applause.] We would have united the lovers of freedom throughout the world by such a proceeding. I do not know what the policy of that government is; I only know that it has come to us in unequivocal form; that but recently that government was intriguing with the Southern Confederacy for the sale of my state to France. The same man who represented France in Texas when I left was again on Mexican soil intriguing for the purchase of Texas, and yet I hear no word said by our government, and I think it is time *something was said*.

But I want you to understand, whatever the policy of the government may be upon these questions, I am as loyal to this administration as any man living within the United States. I am as loyal to the President. He is my President. He is the only President we can have for two years. He must be sustained; and had I millions of money, and as many lives, I would give them all to sustain the government. [Applause.] But I am not bound to sustain the policy of those surrounding him, and who are dictating to him, and I think the people have the right to rise up and dictate the true course of the government in regard to its internal difficulties, and they will not be true to the country until they determine it in their judgment, and exercise it for the government of the country. [Applause.]

I desire to say a few words directed mainly to my section of the country. I believe if there are any within the limits of the United States who have had cause to be disappointed, I am, at least, one of those men; not that I have been an applicant for anything, but that I have hoped that the country I love so much would ere this have been redeemed. Upon the 4th of December I sailed from your port, if not a happy man, at least buoyant in heart, for I was connected with an expedition which I had been taught to believe was intended for the relief of Texas. Without solicitation on my part I had been put in commission and connected with that expedition; with the declaration oft repeated that it was to go to Texas; I never knew that we were not going there until we arrived at New Orleans. Now, as a matter of course, feeling an interest in the loyal people of Texas, my mission here being to procure relief for it, and believing that the object had been effected, it was my simple duty to hurry the news to them as fast as possible that relief was coming. In the mean time, many of them had been run out of the country and had been waiting patiently on the other side of the Rio Grande. They were told that we were coming—they got it through the public prints—and they took measures accordingly. They got up organizations preparatory to joining the federal forces as soon as they landed. But when it was found out that there was no aid coming—when it was found out by the rebels that the force was to operate on the Mississippi River and not in Texas—you can imagine what were the consequences to the Union men who had manifested some pleasure at the arrival of aid. I have no means of knowing how many, but I know that some hundreds lost their lives in consequence of that disappointment. [“Shame, shame.”] I know they have died deaths not heard of since the dark ages till now; not only hunted and shot, murdered upon their own thresholds, but tied up and scalded to death with boiling water, torn asunder by wild horses; whole neighborhoods of men exterminated, and their wives and children driven away. They were hung by twentys. And the work is still going on. I ask loyal men if these things ought to go on. History will bear me out in saying that never, since the beginning of time, have people endured more by

way of testifying their devotion to any government that has existed among men.

It has been said sometimes that the only loyal men of the South were the black men. I am here to-night to dispute that. It is not true. I assert that more than half the white men of that country were loyal in the beginning of this struggle; and more than half of those living there to-day would return to it with gladness and gratitude if you would give them relief. Talk about sympathy with men who are covered with crime, murder, arson, robbery, and the despoliation of the poor! Talk about the rights of property of these men! Yet not a word do I hear about the orphans and the widows those devils have made in the South, the homes they have burned, the property they have confiscated.

And the loyal people of the state of Texas have suffered also by the action of this government, for they were in the habit of consuming largely of the products of the North, and from this, of course, they have been cut off. Since the border of the Rio Grande has been in possession of the rebels, they have compelled the planters to sell their cotton to the confederate government and taking their payment in confederate paper, and the horses and teams have been seized to transport it to the Rio Grande, where the rebels could then exchange it for gold or silver or for any required supplies. It does seem to me that it is time for the people to say to the government that this has gone on long enough. [Applause.] It does seem to me that I have purchased a right to call upon you to-night to express your opinion upon that subject. [Renewed applause.] But I will say if they never do it, it will not crush my devotion to the government, although it may cause the loss of the last friend I have under heaven. But I shall think that some man who has surrounded the government has been to blame if no action is taken.

There is a reason why France wishes to get possession of Texas. I will not go into figures but I will satisfy any person who is skeptical, that there are rich cotton lands enough in that state to produce four times as much cotton as is now produced upon this whole continent! It is a country twice as large as France, possessed of great facilities, facilities untold, mineral wealth beyond the knowledge of any man living, a country teeming with wealth in the great future, and which will, if we still hold her in sisterhood, at no distant day pour into the lap of this great emporium. Give me one note of encouragement to-night, and I shall be relieved; but under whatever circumstances, I shall perform my duty. Whatever men may say in regard to the inefficiency of the government, and its shortcomings hitherto, it has still its armies in the field; and there are counsels that are able to lift up the nation from the mud and mire of the present hour and to place it firmly upon the path of success. Still the admiring gaze of the world is fixed upon us. When

we shall speak, and speak with determination, our voice will still be heard throughout the world. We may now be in trouble; but the power and majesty of this country is not all clouded, and still in the midst of its direst calamity,

“Like some proud cliff that rears its awful form,
Swells from the vale and midway meets the storm;
Though round its base the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

[Loud and long continued applause.]

There were loud and reiterated calls for “Conkling,” “Conkling,” “Roscoe Conkling.” Amid three cheers, the President came forward with that gentleman, saying: I need not inform you who he is. He, with others, sustained the weight of our cause in the last House of Representatives, and before this battle was waged I stood a spectator of his efforts, which in the common cause have encircled his brows with the civic wreath. He was then a Republican, as I was a Democrat; we now are both lovers of our country and members of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE. [Loud applause and three cheers.]

SPEECH OF HON. ROSCOE CONKLING.

The HON. ROSCOE CONKLING said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: There are reasons why I should be glad to remain a listener to night, and yet if I possessed a hundred voices, and every voice was trumpet-tongued, gladly would I raise them all to greet this great assemblage: so cordially do I share with you the sentiment which has brought you together. [Applause.]

The inquiry was made a while ago whether there is a difference between this organization, and the meeting held at the Academy of Music. There is no difference, except that the purpose of this league is, to extend far and wide through the loyal States, its influence and example, to nationalize that which has, up to this time, been local. The character of those with whom the movement originates, gives assurance that rivalries, or personal ambitions, or partisan objects, do not lie at its foundation. This is not the place for political parties to contend. You have not come together to destroy old political organizations, or to found a new one. You have come, not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as American citizens, with the single object and purpose of sustaining the government in quelling a giant insurrection. [Cheers.] You come as the children and heirs of those who, no matter to what political party they belonged, no matter what religious creed they held, no matter what language was their mother-tongue, no matter where was the land of their birth, stood side by side on the bloody battle-fields of the American revolution. [Applause.]

You come as the heirs of a priceless and imperiled birthright, the defenders of an endangered nationality, incontestably the greatest the world has ever seen. You come as the guardians of a mild and nurturing government assailed by parricides and assassins, and your mission here is not to recast political parties, but to embalm in the hearts of your countrymen those institutions of equality and freedom in which the freest and best elements of existing systems, are blended with the revelations and experience of buried centuries and epochs. [Cheers.]

Eighty years ago our fathers braved, for seven years, the greatest power on earth, and endured all the hardships and pangs of civilized war, with the added horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. They were sustained by an unfaltering purpose. What was it? It was to plant the tree of constitutional liberty for all where the blighting frosts of despotism could never reach it.

They did plant it, and watered it with their blood when it was a little, feeble, frail experiment; and now, when it has taken root and grown up till it overspreads a continent, and shelters an empire, now when thirty millions of people, the ransomed of all nationalities, are nestling underneath its branches, red-handed traitors have laid the axe at its root, and sworn it shall be hewn down and cast into the fire.

Not strangers, but children of a common parentage, indulged and pampered children, sought by stealth to destroy the roof-tree, and to plunder and ruin the homestead of us all.

I say they sought their end at first by cowardice and stealth, and availing themselves of the places of power and trust which had been confided to them; having the government in their own hands, in double trust, they sprang upon it unawares, as if to murder the nation in its bed. But the sleeper waked, and creeping assassination stalked as rebellion. [Applause.] Foiled in its secret hope, the next step of treason was to plunge the country into the greatest war of which history makes note: the greatest of wars in all the three elements which measure the magnitude of war; the greatest in its cost in money, the greatest in the forces and power engaged, the greatest in its theatre of operations.

It is this that has made this hall to-night a temple of freedom, and filled it with the votaries of constitutional liberty. But the struggle is not of words, nor of argument, nor of reason—it is a bloody grapple for the mastery by force of arms.

What then can be done for it here in this great audience chamber, crowded with the patriotism, the intelligence, and the industry of this imperial city? Will the thousands here assembled fire one bullet at the enemy or give one stroke with the sword, or one thrust with the bayonet? Is there any call for men or money now to be responded to here? Then why should you be here? Why should New York speak that the nation may hear?

I will give you a reason why. From the outset our greatest dan-

ger and misfortune has been from divisions among ourselves. [Applause.] The sheet anchor of rebellion, its greatest hope, has been that the loyal states would become divided, and grow weary or disgusted with the contest.

I appeal to my distinguished friend who preceded me, whether it is not true that had it been believed throughout the cotton states that the twenty millions of the North would rise with unanimity, sternly determined to maintain their institutions at any cost to the bitter end, the rebellion would never have been inaugurated. [Applause.] The conspirators did not wade into the red sea of revolution until they had assured themselves of discords and divisions here. When the assault upon the government actually began the thews of party gave way, and for a time the South saw with dismay a united North. Then came again the antagonisms of politics. The government party was defeated in elections; the administration and the war was assailed, hostile resolutions were brought forward in conventions and legislatures, and men boasted in both houses of Congress that they had never voted men or money to be used to suppress rebellion. What is the result? It has gone out that the North is languishing and faltering in the struggle. It has been "told in Gath and published in the streets of Askelon," that the state of New York is ready to stop, to give up on any terms; and the despots of Europe, and the ringleaders of the South are again flushed with expectation.

It is mainly to dispel these delusions, that this meeting has been called, and this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE inaugurated. [Cheers.]

Not many such congregations of people will be needed to show the world that the fires still burn which broke out into the most sublime spectacle in all history, when the lightning flashed the tidings that insurgents had battered Sumter, and trampled upon that flag which for eighty years had proudly defied the world in arms. [Cheers.]

The throbbing of such a heart as this will vibrate far away. Your voice will be heard more plainly in Richmond than in New York. It will carry assurance there that time has only confirmed your determination, that come what may, and fall what must, the government shall stand. [Applause.]

Your proceedings will say to Richmond, that while the people of New York are a law-abiding people, a peace-loving people, a conservative people, to use a word much murdered in this year of grace [laughter]; that while they deplore the war, while they have ever been in favor of the Constitution, and of living up to all the compromises and guarantees of the Constitution, they are also for the country, right or wrong. [Cheers.] And that happen what will, perish what may, they mean that the Union shall live, and that the beak and claw of national power shall descend upon palmettos, and pelicans, and rattlesnakes, till the starry banner again waves from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. [Great cheering.]

The inspiration of great masses of men like this, pronounces the

doom of the nation's enemies, and proclaims that state rights, and state institutions, and all other institutions if need be, must give way, in order that the republic may live. [Renewed cheering.]

If rebellion will not desist without, you are ready to see Vicksburgh, and Richmond, and Charleston, heaps of smouldering ruins. [Cheering.]

For myself, if driven to it, I go farther. Disunion is disintegration, disintegration is anarchy, anarchy is despotism; and rather let desolation reign from the Potomac to the Gulf, than one stripe be torn from the flag, or one star blotted from its azure folds. [Continued applause.] These echoes will not die to night, nor to-morrow, nor afterward, till they have floated far and wide. As I entered the hall this evening, a distinguished citizen was reading to you some words of a great statesman, who sleeps in a grave where New England has laid him; and as I listened and looked upon this scene, my mind rested upon another thought of Webster. He said once in a speech, "The lightning is strong, the whirlwind is strong, the tempest is strong, but there is something stronger than all of these—it is the enlightened judgment of mankind." [Applause.] Yes, there is power in the honest sense of men, and the earnest judgment of a host like this, speaking with the depth of feeling and conviction here evinced, will at this time go far and near with healing on its wings. [Applause.]

It goes to Washington, to reinvigorate and spur the flagging energies, if they do flag, of those charged with the administration of public affairs.

It goes to the Potomac among the soldiers, whose bed is the ground, and tells them that the blessings and benedictions of grateful thousands are daily and nightly descending on their heads. [Applause.] It says to them, that though other republics may have been ungrateful, this republic will ever decorate with heroic honors, those who have exchanged the fireside for the camp, and gone to defend on distant battle-fields, the life and glory of their country. [Applause.]

Above all else, it gives the lie to sinister croakers, and impeaches rebel sympathizers everywhere, in the North and in the South. [Cheers.]

All leagues of loyal citizens, and all meetings of the loyal, must, if they are earnest and sincere, tend in the same direction, and therefore I understand that no difference in object or purpose, is to be found between this national association and any other similar in character.

Why should there be, how can there be, any difference now between those who are honestly for God and their country? "Why," says one, "There are acts of the administration that I cannot approve of." Well, fellow-citizens, I have a little confession to make upon that point myself, and I make it in strict confidence, and shall not admit it if it ever is repeated. [Laughter.] I advocated the elevation of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency. [Applause.] I voted for him, and, as the representative in Congress of a proud and loyal constituency, I

have endeavored to sustain and uphold his administration always. I have confidence in him, and yet there are a great many things which the administration has done that I do not approve of. [Cheers.] But is that any reason why I should not stand by it and hold up its hands, even to the uttermost? ["No, no."] Why, if you think you have a poor administration, so much the more is it your duty to help it along. [Applause.] If you have a weak administration, so much more it needs strength, does it not? [Cheers.] Be it bad or good, it is ours for two years more, subject to changes in the cabinet, and whoever thinks he has a bad President, or a bad cabinet, is in the condition of the man who had a very bad cold, but it was the best he had. [Laughter and applause.] If you cannot sustain Mr. Lincoln for any other reason, sustain him because he is President. Go for the crown, if it hangs on a bush. I have said, and I do not mean to make a speech, I will not be led into that, whatever other indiscretion I may commit—I said that I could not always see the reason of acts done by the administration, but then others would approve of these very acts and condemn something of a different character, perhaps. There is nothing, for example, in the doings at Washington which has been more bitterly denounced than a line of policy which I will allude to, yet I do not at all sympathize with those who disapprove it. I refer to that branch, or those branches, of the policy of the administration looking to a resort to all the means which the God of Nature has placed in our power to crush and trample out forever that painted lizard, called Secession. [Loud and prolonged applause.] I never have been thrown into hysterics because the administration, at an early day or at a late day, has talked about arming or attempting to arm men who were willing to bear arms, merely because they sprung from tiger-hunters on the Gold Coast of Africa, and were painted black by Nature's brush. [Cheers.] I feel about these people as the man did who said: "If any rebel has a mule that can draw a howitzer, I want him; and then if he has a nigger that can touch it off, I want him [loud cheers]; or if the nigger can draw the howitzer better than the mule can, and the mule can touch it off better than the nigger can, let them be put to work in that way." [Loud laughter.] I detect myself in saying "nigger;" but I caution you all against indulging in that word, because the Secretary of State says that no man who says "nigger" ever can be President.

This question, fellow-citizens, of employing and arming negroes, and dealing with negroes, has been more prostituted, has been used for baser purposes, than anything else which has entered into the demagoguism of the day. The wildest, maddest, falsest dreams of partisan perversion and malice have been rehearsed to the people to mislead them on this subject, and wicked attempts have been made to mystify, to throw dust in the public eye, till it should be believed that this war was being perverted into a war for abolition, and that the nation was being crippled and impoverished to emancipate the negro

race. Workingmen, laboring men, those who sustain the dignity and the aristocracy of labor—one of the few aristocracies fit to live—workingmen have been approached and importuned by those who ought to be above it—one occurs to me now. [“Thurlow Weed.” Laughter.] That voice over there speaks in an unknown tongue. [Continued laughter.] I meant another man, one who is understood to be a candidate for the presidency, and who stands, as is understood, against the war. The President told me the other day that he had sent word to him that he had better take his own interests into consideration in opposing the government, because it would be hard to run for the presidency next year if there wasn’t any presidency to run for. [Laughter.] But I was saying that men who ought to have been above it, because they know better, have tried to impress the workingmen of this country with the belief that the negroes, if freedom was established for them at the South, would overrun the North; that water would flow up hill; that colored men, with an additional demand for colored labor created where they are, would leave the climate adapted to them, in which they thrive, and come here to overspread the North, and freeze and starve in the latitude in which we live. See what a monstrous, wicked perversion it is. I had supposed, as all history and reason show, that men fly from slavery, not from freedom. I had supposed that every panting fugitive, who fixes his eye on the northstar, and runs until he strikes the dominions of the British Queen, flees from bondage, not from liberty. But we are told that if liberty is given to black men, forsaking that liberty, and panting for strange climates, they will flock here to crowd out white men, and reduce the price of wages; and therefore the negro must not be armed and encouraged to fight for us, but left to feed and clothe the rebellion for fear that slavery will get hurt; and the government, our strong government, as my friend says it is charged with being (I have had an idea, for a good while, that if there was a little more glue put into the government it would not hurt it at all [laughter], I do not think that there is any danger of its sticking too close together for present purposes); this strong government of ours, for striving to make slavery an element of strength to ourselves, and of weakness to our enemies, has, we are told, been guilty of a great crime.

The policy of proclaiming freedom to the slave, and using him as an instrument against armed treason, is characterized as too severe, and upon the same principle the administration party in Congress is denounced because it passed a confiscation act, a bill of confiscation against rebels generally. I will not stop to discuss it. You have heard it discussed on the other side, and can you answer why those who without provocation have deluged the land with blood and covered it with mourning; why those who have dug a hundred thousand new-made graves; who have sent a skeleton into almost every house; who have reduced thousands from affluence to beggary; who have burdened the nation with a debt which posterity must acquit—can you tell why,

in the name of that God whose free worship you enjoy, they should not be compelled to contribute something to repair the ruin they have caused? [Applause.]

But, fellow-citizens, I pass away from this. I intended to speak for a moment of the trifling reasons for difference which seem to separate men who want to stand together in the maintenance of their country in that struggle which, for our government and for all of us, has two, and only two alternatives, glory or the grave. Some men say "I not only disapprove of things the administration has done, but this war might have been prevented. Let us grant it, for the sake of argument; grant it in spite of what the gentleman who went before me in addressing you, and I, both know to be the fact, grant, in spite of what we saw and heard, that when the rebellion began, Congress might have gone so far in coaxing and yielding to armed rebels, as to avert an issue; grant it in spite of what I think my friend behind me heard Mr. Houston of Alabama say in the committee of thirty-three.¹ Speaking for his section and for others, after good men and true had been for days proposing, and offering, and suggesting, and conceding; ready to do anything that men could do, without sacrificing their government, to avert a struggle, Houston said, snatching up a piece of white paper, "*There is no use of our cheating each other; we do not mean to stay with you; we do not mean to stay in this government; we mean to break it up; we can make more money without you than with you, and if you would take that paper and sign your names to it and let us write our agreement over them, then we would not stay with you.*" But admit that the war might have been avoided by some compromise beyond those which were offered; or admit, as it is claimed on the other side, that if, in 1856, the Republican candidate for the presidency had been elected secession and rebellion never could have ripened, never could have been hatched out, and that the government would have been rescued, and rescued forever. [Applause "Bravo." "Three cheers for Fremont," given with a will.] Well, fellow-citizens, I do not know but that moment was as apt a time as any to cheer for Gen. Fremont [Renewed applause]; because if I may say it without stepping upon party ground, whoever the man had been, in 1856, whether John Charles Fremont or another, if a man, not only loyal, but blessed with a little genuine old Teutonic pluck, had been elected President, this rebellion certainly never would have happened at the time it did and in the way it did. [Cheers.] No; another president was necessary to give treason free course; a president who, whether loyal or not, was so timid, as to halt between doubt and determination, till rebels snatched from his nerveless grasp, the ensign of the Republic, and shook in his very face the paltry banner of secession and rebellion. [Hisses for Buchanan.] But it matters not. Suppose that in one way or the other this war could have been averted. It is upon us now; it is a civil war waged with a vindictiveness and ferocity equal to the perfidy and cowardice

in which it was conceived. It is a war waged by men who have disregarded almost all the obligations imposed by civilized warfare, men who not only intended, as has already been said, that the Stars and Bars should float from the dome in Washington, but who have avowed in word and in deed the purpose to launch the whole country upon a shoreless and starless sea of bloody revolution. They never expected the war to be restricted to their own fields, nor would it have been had we not advanced into their lines; it is owing only to barriers of brave men beating back the waves, that the surges have not dashed over our thresholds, engulfing man and woman, toddling childhood and tottering age. These are the dangers which have been upon us; they are no phantoms; but realities which beset us still, and tax all our energies and manhood.

Why then neglect things that are, for things that were?

"Let the dead past bury its dead,
Act, act in the living present,
Heart within, and God o'erhead."

Many good men have looked at the dark side of the picture, and said that we are making no progress in the war, while debt accumulates, armies waste away, and time elapses.

I do not argue that time and men have been employed always as they should have been, yet is it not true that those are most given to cavil, who stop the shortest time to measure the magnitude and difficulties of the thing we have to do?

Have they thought that the nation had been buried in profound peace for years, had long unlearned and forgotten the habits, the arts, and the appliances of war, when unexpectedly and suddenly the hand of violence was raised on half a continent; and that when a confiding people roused itself, it found an empire in revolt for thousands and thousands of miles, and organized and armed by those who had been secretly plotting for half a generation?

While deliberate preparation had been made on the side of treason, have we all borne in mind how helpless and hopeless our situation was, when violence began? Who can portray a situation so pitiful? The government was in rebellion against itself. The administration conspired against the people. The cabinet was full of traitors. Gen. Cass was driven into retirement because he would not consent to the overthrow of the Constitution. The leaders of the rebellion had the government completely in their hands; they were sworn to preserve and defend it, yet they gave themselves up to its destruction. They held the highest places of honor and of trust, which a generous people could bestow, and they made use of all that power and perjury could do, to sap the foundations of republican nationality.

They arranged in advance so that you should have neither money, nor ships, nor arms, nor soldiers, nor anything for defence when the work of demolition and disunion should begin.

Look at them a moment and see the rôle of hidden infamy that each one played.

Howell Cobb was Secretary of the Treasury, and it was his part to slander and degrade the public credit, to derange the finances, and squander the public money, so that the government could not even borrow in the market.

The Secretary of the Navy, was Mr. Toucey, of Connecticut, ["Scoundrel!" groans.] The expounder now of malignant politics, in an honored state, which has an honored representative here upon the platform. [Applause.] Isaac Toucey was one of the ministering priests when the country was sacrificed. His ministration was quite important, and it was very handy to have him where he was. It was his proud preliminary privilege to scatter your little fleet to the four winds of heaven, to banish it in part to distant seas, where it could not be called to aid a fort or hold a position, and to anchor it in part where it could be stolen by easy theft. All this was done, and the decks were cleared for treason.

There was Jefferson Davis, not in the Cabinet ostensibly, but really in the Cabinet, a graduate of West Point, a man who had been educated and nurtured at your bounty. He entered the Mexican war, and, being the son-in-law of the old hero of that war, to whom tribute has been paid here to-night, became a pet in the army. He came to the Senate of the United States, after he had been Secretary of War under Mr. Pierce, and was made Chairman of Military Affairs, and what do you suppose his mission was in preparing for the rebellion? It was, in conjunction with that twin patriot Floyd [groans], so to dispose your little army that the government would be helpless, naked, and bleeding at the feet of its betrayers. His dispositions were certainly judicious. He sent a large part of the entire force to Texas, Texas which we fought a bloody war for, and paid to obtain, how much, two hundred millions?

GEN. HAMILTON. Three hundred millions.

MR. CONKLING. Three hundred millions to acquire. Troops were sent to Texas under pretence of guarding the frontiers from the incursions of savage Indians. And who was put in command? Twiggs, the traitor, a dog in forehead and a deer at heart. He was put there in order that in one day, without firing a gun, or striking a blow, he might surrender an empire greater than France; an empire greater than all Europe between the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. He, too, played his part, and betrayed to the enemies of his country a vast possession, rich, inconceivably rich, for which some of the best blood of the nation had been poured out, and the bones of the young and the brave left to bleach on the burning sands of Mexico. There was another man in this cabinet never to be forgotten, and that is Jacob Thompson of Mississippi. Do you remember his especial part in this dark tragedy of treason? It was, while he was a sworn officer of the administration, a cabinet minister, bound

by his oath to maintain inviolate the secret doings of the cabinet ; it was at that time, and in disregard of his oath, privily to telegraph to Judge Longstreet, or Longworth, of Charleston, that the *Star of the West*, an unarmed vessel, was to leave your beautiful bay on a certain day to feed a starving garrison at Sumter, to the end that guns might be planted to sink her when she came. I am warranted in saying that he did literally this, because he told me so himself. ["Catch him and hang him."] My impression is that a little healthy hanging would do for this nation what thunder does for a sultry day. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

Such were the means, in part, by which the nation was bound hand and foot before the danger was discovered, and in order that we may guard against desponding, let us remember these and other things which, if time permitted, or the hour was earlier, might be referred to. ["Go on ! go on !"] No, fellow-citizens, I will go on but very briefly ; only far enough to caution you and myself against overlooking the great hindrances and obstacles against which the government has struggled. Above all we must not forget that we have been carrying on a war of invasion, and that the inequality between those waging such a war, and those resisting, is so enormous that arithmetic can scarcely compute it. We have been compelled, not only to send armies into an enemy's country to win battles, but to hold and occupy immense regions. History tells us how hard and slow a thing this is.

George Washington lost almost all the battles of the American Revolution ; he lost them almost all, and yet the revolution succeeded. Why ? Because the colonies had the enormous advantage of fighting on their own ground to resist an invading army, which came far from home. So Napoleon was victorious in Russia, and the flames of burning Moscow flashed a new and bloody light upon the blazing star of Austerlitz. But his army, his six hundred thousand, what of them ? They fled, they froze, they perished ! The same conquering Child of Destiny led his legions through repeated victories in the peninsula of Spain, but something more was necessary than to win battles, and at last he fled for his life, and why ? For the same reason which has retarded our successes, certain to come, in the struggle in which we are engaged. [Cheers.] We, fellow-citizens, like the invading forces I have instanced, have had from the outset a war of invasion. We had traitors in high places to bind and paralyze the government beforehand, we have had unnumbered disadvantages, but I will tell you what is the military answer, and the political answer, and the truthful answer, to it all. No matter what impediments there are, no matter how the balances of doubtful and temporary questions may waver, God Almighty does not mean that a nation such as this shall die in the morning of its life. [Great applause.] No, all we need is faith, a star, an indomitable heart. Do as you have done to-night ; say to the world that if those who have gone forth already are too few to vindicate an insulted nationality, the North has still

armies of loyal sons, ready, if need be, to bare their bosoms to the icy fangs of death. [Cheers.] Let it be understood henceforth that whatever political differences there may have been, whatever men may have said in view of elections heretofore, they will stand squarely by the government now, and sink all minor causes of quarrel to compass the defeat of a common foe. [Applause.] Pour out a voice to the ringleaders in the South, and to the despots abroad, who long for the overthrow of this great example of free government, who hate and fear this republic because it stands a scowling monitor to them, but to their people a pillar of fire by night and a cloud by day, the shadow of a great rock in a weary land to the oppressed of all nationalities ; pour out a voice which shall tell of the strength of **UNITY**, which shall prove that overwhelming numbers in the loyal states

“ Are true to the last of their blood and their breath,
And like reapers descend to the harvest of death.”

When this is done ; when it is known that the resources of the North, the money, the power, the men of the country, are to be precipitated upon the rebellion, from that hour its hairs are numbered ; from that hour the sands of its life are run. [Cheers.]

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, let me say once more, that I rejoice that this meeting has assembled, that here, in this imperial city, which influences so widely the affairs of the whole continent ; here, where it is said contempt of the government has grown rampant ; here, where men come making long pilgrimages and uttering sentiments which have been silenced in half-loyal cities of the South ; here, where greater impunity for moral, if not for legal treason, has been allowed than almost anywhere else ; here, where great hopes of division and disloyalty have been held out to the leaders of rebellion, I rejoice that a multitude so great, representing the patriotic and the true of all parties, has come together to renew their vows of undying loyalty, and to send out again the great acclaim that, come what will, happen what may, be destroyed what must, the union of the States shall be preserved inviolate forever, and the Constitution shall be obeyed on every foot of our rightful jurisdiction. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

At this point, there was thrown upon the stage a bouquet of the National tricolor, the donor shouting the motto : “ United we stand, divided we fall,” amid loud cheering.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope that the audience will remain patient and quiet for a few moments. There is a gentleman seated upon the platform, who will address to you a few remarks. He will not detain you at this late hour of the evening, but his voice has been heard with rapt attention elsewhere, in the councils of the Nation, and there he

has won for himself a laudable, an abiding, and an honorable fame. There is struggle at Vicksburg ; there is doubt at Yazoo. We have heard from Vicksburg ; we have heard from Yazoo ; but there are both struggle and doubt in Connecticut ; let us hear a representative of Connecticut. I introduce to you Senator FOSTER, of Connecticut. [Loud applause.]

SPEECH OF THE HON. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER, U. S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT.

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK : It is quite too late to make a speech, even if I had a speech to make, which, luckily for you, I have not. I am casually here on my way home from Washington. It has rejoiced my heart to-night to be here, to see what I have seen, and to hear what I have heard, for here in the city of New York, the great centre of trade and commerce, the great centre of the capital of the country, here we look for a political influence which shall be potential throughout our land, and not unfelt throughout the world. To you, fellow-citizens, more than to any equal number of men in the whole country, is committed the guardianship of the Constitution, the protection of the public liberty, and the perpetuity of the union of these states. To no other equal number of men has this trust been so clearly committed as to you, for the public voice, the public press, the public sentiment of New York, I will not say control this country, but exert an influence most powerful over every portion of it, an influence that it is impossible to over-estimate, and it is, therefore, a matter of rejoicing to me to see so many earnest, and true, and loyal men assembled here to-night, in the discharge of as high and as holy a duty as was ever committed by our Creator to men. [Loud cheers.] And I am sure, I am quite sure from what I have seen and heard, that you purpose to discharge this duty honorably, faithfully, fearlessly [cheers], that if this country is lost it shall not be lost in consequence of any defection in the city of New York. [Applause.] And if there be no defection in the city of New York, if the city of New York stands true to itself, to the flag of the country, to the union of these states, our liberties are secure. [Loud cheering.] Not only over the loyal states, but through the disloyal states, the city of New York is looked to with intense interest ; and when New York rises in her might and in her majesty in favor of the preservation of the union of these states, its defence, its rescue from those who would overthrow it, a thrill of delight goes through every loyal heart, and a feeling of gloom, of depression, and a little uneasiness about the neck, is felt through all the disloyal states. [Great applause.] I will not, however, attempt to speak, after what you have heard from men who have come here from the field, ["Go on," "Go on."] and who are so situated that they have a right even to tax your patience (which they have not done) ; but coming, as

they do, one from a far-distant section of the country, and another from the field of battle, they have a right to tax your attention which I have not. Pardon me if I say one word about my own state, Connecticut. [Cheers.] Let me ask every gentleman here, who belongs to Connecticut, and some I am persuaded do, to see to it that, before our election comes, which will be one fortnight from next Monday, he is at home, and attending to his duty. [Cheers. "Good," "Good."] And let me beg each of my fellow-citizens, not to put off the time of his return too late. There is much good that he may do by returning home at once. Go in the first train. Do not stay in this city, hospitable, noble as it is, but go home. [Applause.] There is danger lest some, like the one whom my friend alluded to, may be doing mischief while you are away. That gentleman, with certain others, proposes to change the state administration, and to take it out of the hands of those who have administered it most loyally, patriotically, and ably, and put it in the hands of men who cry "peace, when there is no peace," [cheers.] who are for compromise, who are opposed to putting down this war by force, who think that our Southern brethren are, on the whole, very much more in the right than we are, and that it becomes us, as the greater and stronger portion of the confederacy, to yield to them with magnanimity, and to have peace. [Never.] That is what is proposed by a few men—I hope not many—in my own state of Connecticut, and it is therefore that I would urge upon every Connecticut-man here to go home and counteract that influence. I go home to-morrow. I do not promise that I shall do much, but I shall do all that I can; and if that is but little, there is so much the more need that all you who are here should go and help me. While we are full of confidence and hope, it is not to be disguised that our enemy, playing upon the basest passions of the basest hearts, may occasion us a great deal of mischief and trouble, and that our state, reduced by having some twenty thousand loyal men in the battle-field, using not the ballot-box but the cartridge-box, there is danger lest our state be carried by our enemies—not political enemies, but the enemies of our country. [Cheers.] There is as much necessity that these men be overcome and beaten, as that the enemies south of the Potomac be overcome and beaten. These men are a fire in the rear of our brave soldiers in the field. My friend here to-night can bear me witness, that there is but one voice coming from the army, and that is: "We must be sustained at home. [Loud applause.] To send us off here to fight the enemy in front, and then let loose upon us a set of cowardly dastards in the rear, is shameful." [Cheers.] Let me then entreat every man to go home; and if he is not a voter even, if he has formerly been a citizen of Connecticut, still let him go home and see his neighbors, and use what influence he has in favor of the right cause. Do not let him think that because he is not a voter, he has no right to intermeddle. Our country is one; a citizen of New York is a citizen of Connecticut, and if you will pardon me, I will take

the liberty to say that a citizen of Connecticut is a citizen of New York. Our destiny is one. We are bound up together—one nationality, one flag, one country, one Union; by that let us all stand, and if we perish and we shall not if we stand united and firm together, if we do perish, let it be in defence of that which shall give us a name, and for which it shall be glorious to have died. [Continued applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: Fellow-citizens, I am reminded before I call these proceedings to a close, by the continued presence of our friend General Hamilton upon the stage, of the hearty sympathy you have expressed with his state of Texas. I trust that that sympathy may be far-reaching; that it will be appreciated and responded to by our government at Washington; that those efforts which have been undertaken may be resumed, and that his state may once more be introduced into the cynosure, and among the sisterhood of states. [Cheers.]

I am requested to announce that the committee, whose names are announced in the proceedings of the meeting, will meet on Monday, at an hour and place to be named hereafter.

I am requested to say further that a full copy of these proceedings will be sent to every member of this League. [Cheers.]

And now, before we adjourn, I have, as your presiding officer this evening, to enjoin upon you, above all, and paramount to everything else, immediate, and continued, and constant action. [Cheers.] It was asked whether a difference existed between this and another organization. There is no difference whatever. The meeting called at the Academy of Music was, as I understand it, for purposes kindred and identical with those for which this meeting was called, except that this meeting goes further, and purposes an organization which it had in view before that meeting was convened, or notified to be convened. We have now consummated our purpose; you have appointed your committees; those committees will take immediate action for immediate operation in the various wards of the city. And let it be known and realized by you all, that however strong the principles upon which you assemble and upon which you stand, and which nerve and arm you in this conflict, principles are not all; they must induce you to action, action not only general before the public, but privately in the lesser circles in your wards, in your election districts; everywhere must your organization speak the strength of your numbers, so that your principles may be carried out, and your country may be saved.

And now, before we close, I have great gratification in announcing to you that this LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, so happily organized this evening, will be inaugurated, in mass meeting on Union Square, on the anniversary of the attack on FORT SUMTER, Saturday, 11th April. [Great cheering.]

The meeting now stands adjourned.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

From the New York Evening Post, March 21.

THE THIRD GREAT MEETING.

There was nothing in the meeting, held at the Cooper Institute, last evening to distinguish it from the meetings that have preceded it, unless it was an air of sterner determination to support the war to its last results. It was, in fact, designed to be a business meeting of the members of the Loyal National League, rather than a gathering for talk, but it was successful in either aspect. The business of organizing the League was happily accomplished, while the addresses were among the most eloquent that have yet been delivered. Our readers may infer that it was a pretty large assemblage, when we inform them that no less than five thousand five hundred tickets of admission were issued.

General Hamilton, of Texas, is always an impressive and forcible speaker; his earnestness is that of deep conviction; he knows what the rebellion is in spirit and in act; he has suffered from it in person, in property, and in family; and when he warns the people of the North of the intensity of its malignity, his language is the utterance of a painful experience, and has all the direct simplicity and pathos of the naked truth. Nor does General Hamilton ever seek to disguise the fact that this horrid and wanton war has grown out of slavery, or his conviction that slavery should be made to pay the penalty of its own deeds. The son of a slaveholder—and a slaveholder himself in former times—he does not allow the prejudices of caste, nor the delusions of local policy, to blind him to the realities of circumstances and life. He knows that slavery is the cursed root of bitterness between the people of the North and South; he knows that there is no other fundamental antagonism; and he is not afraid to say that he desires to see the cause of the quarrel removed. Let slavery be utterly eradicated, he exclaims, rather than that this noble and generous people—brothers in lineage and race—should be kept in a state of perpetual enmity and bloodshed.

It is refreshing to hear such a man talk—one who separates himself from the prejudices of his section to save his country—and the mind involuntarily contrasts the noble frankness and disinterestedness of his course with that of certain men of the North, who, born and bred in freedom, are yet the defenders of bondage. Here is one who has been all his life taught to respect and uphold slavery, but who, the moment his country's integrity and permanence are endangered by it, yields it to the country's good. But how many are there, who, having been all their lives taught the dignity and worth of freedom, who are openmouthed, indeed, on all public occasions in their praises of it, but when that freedom is assailed, causelessly

and ruthlessly, by its foul antagonist, abandon the sacred cause of right and take part with the enemy!

The other speeches of the evening were worthy of the occasion. General Cochrane presided with rare tact, and spoke with his usual ability; and Mr. Roseoe Conklin was never more animated or powerful. In the selection of men to act on the several committees good judgment was shown. The names are, most of them, the names of our best known and wealthiest citizens, taken from all ranks in life, and from all political parties that are loyal. The merchant, and the mechanic, the lawyer and the tradesman, the man of wealth and the man of science, are all represented, and there is good reason to believe that every person designated for duty will act in furtherance of the purposes of the League with all his energy and influence.

From the New York Tribune, March 21.

THE MEETING LAST NIGHT.

The meeting last night at the Cooper Institute, to organize the Loyal National league was a gathering as remarkable in its way as any of the great meetings that have been held in this city for the last two years. It was great, first, in numbers, for, admission being only by tickets to members, women were necessarily excluded—probably not a dozen being present—and the immense hall was packed with men, who, had they, as usual, been accompanied by wives, daughters, or friends, would have been compelled to find standing-room out of doors by thousands; secondly, in the evident character of the audience, in the intelligence, respectability and earnestness of the men who know what they mean to do, and how they mean to do it; and thirdly, in its enthusiastic but serious earnestness, and in the entire unanimity and sympathy which bound it together, and moved it as one man. Though the arrangements for the meeting seem to have been somewhat hastily made, and little pains taken to bring to it men, strangers among us, but whose fame would attract an audience—all the speakers being our own citizens, or gentlemen who happened to be in town—yet the assemblage came together, evidently not so much to hear distinguished orators, as because they had signed a pledge, which they meant, then and there, to give an earnest of their intention of fulfilling, and to act with others moved by the same high motive. As the meeting, therefore, owed nothing to mere management, so its entire success is all the more gratifying and more significant. It is but the precursor of others which will give completeness and momentum to a great popular movement, which, we cannot doubt, will carry everything before it, develop a fresh spirit throughout the North, and hasten that triumph which the people everywhere demand and long for.

We print in another column a full report. Those who read will recognize, as those who heard hailed with unbounded enthusiasm, the eloquence and devoted patriotism of Cochrane, Hamilton, and Conkling. The organization of the League was completed and its officers chosen, and in the tone of the speeches of these gentlemen will be seen the spirit in which a great work is begun.



APPENDIX.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

Loyal National League.

1. The Association is organized under the PLEDGE OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby associate ourselves under the name and title of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

We pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the Rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the National unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

The primary object of this League is, and shall be, to bind together all loyal men, of all trades and professions, in a common union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation.

2. All persons signing this Pledge shall be members of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

3. Its officers shall be—

A COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FIVE, and

An EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE, permanently chosen, each body with power to fill vacancies in its own number, subject to the approval of the League—

A TREASURER, to be elected by the Council ;

A SECRETARY, to be elected by the Executive Committee.

4. The duty of the COUNCIL shall be to have a general supervision over the affairs of the League, and to report to the Association for their approval, from time to time, such additional by-laws as they may deem expedient. The members shall preside over the meetings of the Association.
5. The duty of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE shall be to take charge of the Hall of the League ; to provide it with suitable journals and documents ; to superintend the general details of its business ; and devise plans for its enlargement and usefulness. It shall also be a chief duty of the Executive Committee to provide by correspondence and otherwise for the spread of this NATIONAL organization throughout the loyal states, with a view to harmonious and united action in furthering the primary objects set forth in the pledge.
6. The duty of the TREASURER shall be to receive and disburse all the moneys of the League, under such rules and regulations as the Council may prescribe.
7. The duty of the SECRETARY shall be to keep a fair copy of all minutes and proceedings of the League, to conduct the correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee, and to be the custodian of its archives.
8. The LEAGUE shall be supported by voluntary subscriptions and monthly contributions of its members.
9. No debt shall be incurred beyond the actual cash funds in the hands of the *Treasurer*.

WARD REPRESENTATION.

Whereas, Clubs have been formed, and are now forming, in various wards of this city, under the pledge of the Loyal National League,

and in some instances delegates have been appointed to co-operate with delegates from other wards; and

Whereas, it is desirable to bind in a common Union all the associations which, by accepting this pledge, evince a desire to affiliate together,

It is, therefore, recommended that the Executive Committee be instructed to give their first attention to the perfecting of a scheme whereby all such Clubs may be properly represented in this organization. And they further recommend that the Executive Committee report at the first meeting of the Association a suitable badge of the national colors.

Resolution adopted in joint session of the Council and Executive Committee.

Resolved, That in addition to the Council and Executive Committees appointed at the meeting at Cooper Institute, Friday, 20th March, for organization of the National League, and in accordance with the resolution of instruction unanimously adopted at that meeting, there shall be a Committee of twenty-two, consisting of one representative from the organization which has been or may be raised in each ward of the city; and that such Committee shall be entitled "THE WARD COMMITTEE OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE," and shall unite with the Council and Executive Committees in joint session. This Ward Committee may make rules for its own government, and adopt measures for the spread of the organization, with the concurrence of the Council and Executive Committee.

Correct copy of the By-Laws and Resolution on Ward Representation.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,

Secretary of the League.

NEW YORK, March 26, 1863.



Officers of the Loyal National League.

COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FIVE.

GEORGE OPDYKE,
CHARLES KING,
JOHN A. STEVENS,
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
JOHN C. GREEN,
A. T. STEWART,
FRANCIS LIEBER,
WILLIAM E. DODGE,
WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES,
MORRIS KETCHUM,
SETH B. HUNT,

E. CAYLUS,
MOSES TAYLOR,
CHARLES BUTLER,
FRANCIS B. CUTTING,
ROBERT BAYARD,
JOHN J. CISCO,
C. V. S. ROOSEVELT,
FRANCIS G. SHAW,
CHARLES A. HECKSHER,
W. H. WEBB,
WILLIAM F. CARY,

JAMES McKAYE.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

GEORGE GRISWOLD,
JOHN COCHRANE,
FRANKLIN H. DELANO,
J. BUTLER WRIGHT,
GEORGE CABOT WARD,
JOHN JAY,
ISAAC H. BAILEY,
WILLIAM A. HALL,
HUGO WESENDONCK,
WILLIAM T. BLODGETT,
PARKE GODWIN,
ADRIAN ISELIN,

SIDNEY HOWARD GAY,
ROBERT B. MINTURN, JR.,
JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED,
ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY,
THOMAS N. DALE,
JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR.,
WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR.,
WILLIAM ORTON,
WOLCOTT GIBBS,
C. E. DETMOLD,
GEORGE P. PUTNAM.